

Message Text

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ORIGIN ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SPC-03 L-03 H-03 IO-15 NSC-10 PM-07

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USIA-15 PRS-01 SS-15 AID-20 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-11

STR-08 COME-00 CEA-02 FRB-02 COA-02 INT-08 CIEP-02

XMB-07 /190 R

DRAFTED BY ARA:BR:A.WATSON:LK

APPROVED BY ARA:BR: STEPHEN LOW

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P 031859Z OCT 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA PRIORITY

INFO AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO PRIORITY

AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

UNCLAS STATE 196656

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, BR

SUBJECT: OPENING STATEMENT BY LOW AT CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS
ON HUMAN RIGHTS

1. TEXT OF OPENING STATEMENT DELIVERED AT 10:00AM TODAY BY
STEPHEN LOW BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATI-
ONS AND MOVEMENTS OF HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE FOLLOWS.

2. BEGIN QUOTE: I WOULD LIKE TO SAY AT THE OUTSET THAT I
WELCOME THE INVITATION TO APPEAR AT THESE HEARINGS ON INTER-
NATIONAL PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, BOTH FOR THE OPPORTUNI-
TY IT AFFORDS TO HEAR THE VIEWS OF OTHERS, AND FOR THE CHA-
NCE TO EXPLAIN UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT POLICY TOWARD BRAZIL
IN THIS MATTER. THE ORDERING OF OUR PRIORITIES IN AN AREA
WHICH TOUCHES FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN VALUES OF THIS KIND IS AS
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DIFFICULT AS IT IS IMPORTANT. I BELIEVE IT IS A LEGITIMATE
AND USEFUL SUBJECT FOR JOINT CONSIDERATION BY THE CON-
GRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE.

3. BEFORE ENTERING INTO THE SPECIFIC AREA OF THE ROLE OF

HUMAN RIGHTS IN OUR CONSIDERATION OF POLICY TOWARD BRAZIL, I THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO SKETCH THE BROAD POLICY FRAMEWORK IN WHICH WE ARE OPERATING AND TO SAY A WORD ABOUT THE BACKGROUND OF OUR RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL. AS I AM SURE YOU

ARE AWARE, MR. CHAIRMAN, THE HISTORY OF OUR RELATIONS IN THIS HEMISPHERE IS OF A SPECIAL NATURE. IN THE PAST OUR CONCERN FOR THE WELFARE AND SECURITY OF THE HEMISPHERE HAD LED US TO TAKE AN OVERLY PATERNALISTIC POSTURE TOWARDS THE NATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA. IN RECOGNITION OF THIS FACT THE PRESIDENT DETERMINED, EARLY IN THE ADMINISTRATION, THAT OUR LATIN AMERICAN POLICY SHOULD HAVE A CHARACTER OF ITS OWN. THUS ON OCTOBER 31, 1969 THE PRESIDENT SET THE TONE OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF THE HEMISPHERE WHEN HE PLEDGED THAT WE WOULD TAKE A NEW APPROACH TOWARDS THEM WHICH HE CALLED A "MATURE PARTNERSHIP" IN WHICH WE WOULD FORESWEAR AN ATTITUDE OF PRESCRIBING FOR OTHERS. IN THAT SPEECH THE PRESIDENT ALSO EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN OVER EXAMPLES OF LIBERTY COMPROMISED AND RIGHTS ENFRINGED. HE SAID HOWEVER THAT EXPLOSIVE FORCES FOR CHANGE WERE OPERATING IN LATIN AMERICA AND ON THE DIPLOMATIC LEVEL WE MUST DEAL REALISTICALLY WITH THE GOVERNMENTS IN THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM AS THEY ARE, WHILE WE HOPE THAT EACH GOVERNMENT WILL HELP ITS OWN PEOPLE MOVE FORWARD TOWARDS A BETTER, FULLER AND FREER LIFE.

4. MORE RECENTLY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS JACK KUBISCH, SPOKE OF OUR DELIBERATE EFFORT TO REDUCE OUR PROMINENCE AND AVOID ANYTHING WHICH SMACKS OF A TUTORIAL OR PATRONIZING APPROACH. HE NOTED THAT WE HAVE REDUCED OUR OFFICIAL PRESENCE, ENCOURAGED LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS TO INITIATE PROPOSALS OF THEIR OWN, AND URGED THEM TO BROADEN THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD WHILE CONTINUING TO SHIFT OUR DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE TO MULTILATERAL AGENCIES. QUOTING FORMER SECRETARY ROGERS, MR. KUBISCH ASSURED THE HEMISPHERE THAT WE DO UNCLASSIFIED

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NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE OUR VIEWS ON OTHERS. THESE STATEMENTS EXPRESS THE GENERAL APPROACH WHICH WE ARE SEEKING TO FOLLOW IN OUR RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA.

5. TO COMPLETE THIS SKETCH OF THE POLICY FRAMEWORK, I WOULD LIKE TO REPEAT A COMMENT BY SECRETARY KISSINGER IN HIS RECENT TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE. HE SAID THERE IS NO QUESTION ON WHERE WE STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THE QUESTION IS WHAT WE SHOULD AND CAN DO ABOUT IT. OUR POSITION, THE SECRETARY SAID, IS TO FOCUS ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT WITH WHICH WE ARE DEALING.

6. NOW WITH REGARD TO OUR RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL, WE HAVE

A HISTORICAL TRADITION OF CLOSE AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND

OF FRANK COMMUNICATION WHICH DATE FROM 1822 WHEN WE WERE THE FIRST NATION TO RECOGNIZE BRAZILIAN INDEPENDENCE. BRAZIL HAS BEEN A FRIEND AND ALLY IN TWO WORLD WARS AND PARTICIPATED IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS UNDER THE UN AND OAS.

7. A GREAT DEAL HAS BEEN WRITTEN RECENTLY ABOUT THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW BRAZIL. THE NATION COUNTS FOR HALF THE POPULATION AND LAND AREA OF SOUTH AMERICA. IT BORDERS ALL BUT TWO OF THE NATIONS OF SOUTH AMERICA. SINCE 1968, BRAZIL'S ECONOMY HAS BEEN GROWING AT ONE OF THE MOST RAPID RATES OF ANY MAJOR COUNTRY IN THE WORLD, AVERAGING ALMOST 10 PERCENT PER YEAR IN REAL TERMS. CONTINUATION OF THIS RATE OF GROWTH THROUGH THE DECADE WOULD BRING BRAZIL IN 1980 TO A GNP ALMOST EQUAL TO THAT OF JAPAN IN 1970. OUR TRADE WITH BRAZIL HAS RISEN TO \$2.3 BILLION, TENTH LARGEST AMONG OUR TRADING PARTNERS, AND WE HAVE A LARGE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS SURPLUS.

8. IN SPITE OF OUR LONG TRADITION OF CLOSE RELATIONS, DIFFERENCES HAVE INEVITABLY ARISEN BETWEEN US. THESE, HOWEVER, HAVE BEEN APPROACHED IN A HEALTHY SPIRIT OF FRANKNESS AND COMPROMISE WHICH HAS PERMITTED US TO FIND UNCLASSIFIED

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SOLUTIONS TO IMPORTANT PROBLEMS. IN RECENT YEARS WE HAVE RESOLVED DIFFERENCES OVER SHIPPING, TEXTILE TRADE AND THE IMPORTANT QUESTION OF FISHING OFF THE COAST OF BRAZIL BY AMERICAN SHRIMP BOATS. THE FISHING AGREEMENT WITH BRAZIL, ALBEIT TEMPORARY IN NATURE, HAS PROVIDED A MOST HOPEFUL NOTE TO OUR NEGOTIATIONS IN THIS DIFFICULT AREA ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD. BRAZIL SPEAKS WITH A VOICE OF INFLUENCE AND MODERATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL FORUMS OF THE WORLD: IN THE UN, IN GATT AND IN THE MULTINATIONAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS AND AS ONE OF THE COMMITTEE OF 20 ON MONETARY REFORM. IT HAS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND UNDERDEVELOPED NATIONS AND CONTRIBUTED IN A POSITIVE WAY TO SOLUTIONS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THIS COUNTRY AND TO WORLD ORDER.

9. WITH THAT AS BACKGROUND, MR. CHAIRMAN, I WOULD LIKE TO PROCEED TO THE SPECIFIC QUESTION ADDRESSED BY THESE HEARINGS. I DO NOT NEED TO BELABOR THE POINT ADDRESSED BY YOU AND PREVIOUS WITNESSES THAT WE ARE CONCERNED WITH THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL INTEREST AS A WHOLE, A COMPLICATED WEB OF ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, SECURITY AND HUMANITARIAN FACTORS, ALL OF WHICH MUST BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION IN THE FORMULATION OF POLICY.

10. IN RECENT YEARS A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION HAS BEEN

CALLED TO RESTRICTIONS OF CIVIL LIBERTIES AND INCIDENTS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN BRAZIL. MEMBERS OF TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS HAVE EMPLOYED MURDER, KIDNAPPING AND ROBBERY IN OPPOSING THE GOVERNMENT. REPORTS HAVE APPEARED OF MISTREATMENT OF PRISONERS, INCLUDING TORTURE, BY THE GOVERNMENT.

11. IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT IS CONCERNED ABOUT THESE REPORTS AND SENSITIVE TO WORLD REACTION TO THEM. HIGH OFFICIALS OF THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED PUBLICLY THAT EXCESSES HAVE OCCURRED IN THE EFFORT TO DEAL WITH TERRORIST ACTIVITY, BUT THEY HAVE DENIED THAT THESE PRACTICES ARE CONDONED BY THE GOVERNMENT. ATTENTION HAS BEEN CALLED TO THIS SITUATION INSIDE BRAZIL IN ITS CONGRESS, BY THE COUNTRY'S CLERGY, AND ITS PRESS.
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OF LATE WE HAVE SEEN FEWER REPORTS OF NEW INSTANCES OF THIS KIND OF THING AND WE HAVE ALSO NOTICED REPORTS OF DISCIPLINARY ACTION HAVING BEEN TAKEN AGAINST PERSONS ACCUSED OF ABUSING PRISONERS. IN SUM, WE FACE A SITUATION WHICH IS RECOGNIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT BUT NOT CONDONED BY IT; WHICH IS PUBLICLY CRITICIZED INSIDE BRAZIL; AND ABOUT WHICH SOMETHING APPARENTLY IS BEING DONE.

12. THE QUESTION WHICH CONFRONTS US IS NOT WHAT OUR ATTITUDE SHOULD BE, BUT HOW TO GIVE BEST EFFECT TO OUR DESIRE TO UPHOLD HUMAN RIGHTS IN LINE WITH OUR OTHER INTERESTS AND THE BROAD POLICY FRAMEWORK OF BUILDING A MATURE ALLIANCE. THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBT WHERE WE OURSELVES STAND WITH REGARD TO THESE MATTERS. THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS PUBLICLY EXPRESSED ITS CONCERN OVER THESE REPORTS ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS, AND FREQUENTLY HAS DONE SO PRIVATELY WITH CIVILIAN AND MILITARY OFFICIALS AT MANY LEVELS OF THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT.

13. WHILE WE HAVE MADE OUR CONCERN CLEAR TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BRAZIL WE HAVE SOUGHT TO AVOID A DIRECT PUBLIC INTERVENTION WHICH WOULD BE RESENTED BY MOST BRAZILIANS WHETHER OR NOT THEY AGREED WITH OUR VIEWS. BRAZILIANS FOLLOW EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES CLOSELY AND THEY ARE AWARE OF IMPERFECTIONS OF OUR SOCIETY. MANY WOULD FEEL WE ARE IN NO POSITION TO CRITICIZE THEM. AN ACTION OF THIS KIND ON OUR PART MIGHT MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT TO TAKE STEPS TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION BECAUSE IT MIGHT APPEAR TO BE DOING SO AS A RESULT OF FOREIGN PRESSURE.

14. INEVITABLY THERE WILL BE DIFFERENCES AMONG CONCERNED AMERICANS ABOUT HOW TO IMPLEMENT OUR POLICIES TOWARD

BRAZIL. SOME WILL CONSIDER THAT EVEN MAINTAINING RELATIONS

ASSOCIATES US WITH POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BRAZIL.
IT SHOULD BE ENTIRELY CLEAR THAT SO FAR AS THE USG IS CONCERNED OUR RELATIONSHIP IN NO WAY IMPLIES APPROVAL OR DISAPPROVAL OF ANY POLICY OR ACTION OF THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT IN THE INTERNATIONAL FIELD AND CERTAINLY NOT ON UNCLASSIFIED

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MATTERS OF AN INTERNAL OR DOMESTIC POLITICAL NATURE. OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH BRAZIL IS A COMPLEX FABRIC WOVEN OVER MANY YEARS AND COVERING MANY AREAS OF INTEREST. WE SHOULD EXAMINE VERY CAREFULLY ANY ACTION WHICH MIGHT BEGIN UNRAVELING THIS FABRIC TO BE SURE IT WOULD ACCOMPLISH ITS PURPOSES AND SERVE OUR BROAD INTEREST.

15. WE HAVE, THEREFORE, NOT FELT COMPELLED TO TAKE ANY FURTHER ACTION IN THE CONVICTION THAT THE GOB IS FULLY AWARE OF OUR VIEWS; THAT IT HAS ALREADY TAKEN SOME STEPS TO DEAL WITH THE MATTER; AND THAT THE RAPID ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION AND ITS INCREASING STABILITY WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE EVOLUTION OF A SOCIETY IN WHICH THE VALUES WE AND THE BRAZILIAN PEOPLE SHARE WILL BE MORE FULLY REALIZED.

16. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, WHATEVER IS DONE MUST BE DONE BY BRAZILIANS THEMSELVES AS A RESULT OF THEIR OWN VOLITION. AS OUR FORMER AMBASSADOR TO BRAZIL, WILLIAM M. ROUNTREE, SAID: "A MATURE PARTNERSHIP OF THE KIND WE ARE TRYING TO DEVELOP WITH BRAZIL AS IT GROWS IN WORLD IMPORTANCE DOES NOT LEND ITSELF TO EXERCISE OF UNDUE INFLUENCE UPON MATTERS WHICH, BY THEIR NATURE, MUST BE RESOLVED BY THE BRAZILIANS THEMSELVES.END QUOTE. KISSINGER

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